5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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Forms of dual organisation between pairs of reciprocating groups have always been of limited scope as the groups tended to reside apart from each other, and each group tended to have marriage exchange relations with several other groups at the same time. Even the short genealogies of Sivepe show evidence that the families of this village have been participating in no less than twenty-five reciprocating pairs of groups, the exchange sometimes consisting of no more than one recorded exchange of women between two villages. Interestingly enough, it was Australian pressure towards village consolidation that emphasised the tendency to dual organisation.

First of all, co-residence tends to increase the number of marriages between local clan groups which are thus thrown together. Usually, such local clan groups are already reciprocating pairs, but when co-residence is established, they begin to reciprocate at a greater rate. For instance, the Seho and Jegase local clan groups in Sivepe, comprising together sixteen households, are linked by seven current Seho-Jegase marriages. This was sufficient to define the seven Seho households and the nine Jegase households as standing in an affinal relation to one another.

In such a village the other households tend to be classified as adhering to one of the two dominant local clan groups. A few years before I came to Sivepe, Rimoldi and Waddel had both visited the village and recorded the presence of a third local clan group, called Timumu. On my arrival I found that this group, consisting of three households, had adopted the Jegase clan name, thus establishing a tidy dualist pattern between one group defined as agnates and a second group defined as affines. A few months before I settled in Sivepe, six households migrated there from Garombi. All the men were members of the Sorovi clan, though of different lineages. A year after they migrated, five of the householders were classified as part of the Jegase clan (by the use of sibling terms of address) while the sixth was classified as part of the Seho clan.

I found a similar pattern in eleven other multi-clan villages I visited. When I first inquired, I was mostly told that they were two-clan villages, the names of the clans being given in each case. Two of the villages were said to have four clans, two pairs of two. Whenever I sought detailed data, I found male householders belonging to additional clans. In Hohorita I was told that the front half was inhabited by two clans, and the back half by two further clans. In fact twelve clans were represented; when this came to light, my informants explained to me that the clan names I had been given at first were those of the 'main' clans. There seemed to be a strong ideological notion that a multi-clan village (or village section) should consist of two local clan groups. Furthermore, this arrangement affects the marriage rules: once Timumu became joined with Jegase under the same clan name, marriages between the two fused local clan, groups became prohibited.

5. *Complementary Opposition in Village Topography*

If the reduction of multi-clan to two-clan villages had occurred only in Sivepe and a few other villages, it could easily be explained solely by processes of clan fusion which are prevalent throughout the area and which will be discussed further below. But I found it to be a regular feature of the